

N<sup>o</sup> 36

Monday, April 10. 1727.

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Testes esse, non fore Ultiores.* Liv.

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**A**S there are no Doctrines or Tenets, however ridiculous or absurd, which have not obtain'd some Favourers and Profelites; so there never were any Actions, however vile or impolitick, which have not been coloured over by designing Men (the Managers and Conducters of them) with plausible Pretences and artful Representations. *Dunkirk* was not sold to the *French*, nor *Tangier* demolish'd, in the Reign of King *Charles II*, without some specious Reasons, besides that prevailing one of *Money*, to justify those Measures, and impose on the Publick; and though the Folly and Wickedness of those Actions have been since fully condemned by all Men of Sense as well as Historians; and the Effects of them (especially of the vile Bargain for *Dunkirk*) were severely felt in our late Wars with *France* and *Spain*; yet it cannot be forgot what Interest was used, in the last Reign, to rescue it from that just Sentence of Destruction, which was pass'd upon it by the Treaty of *Utrecht*; and though perhaps the same Kind of Arguments, which procured the Sale of this Place in the former Reign, were employed to prevent its Demolition in the latter; yet it is evident that they had not the same Weight with the *Queen* and her Ministry. When-

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Whenever, therefore, I look back on these Transactions, I can easily account for any Objections, that I meet with in Conversation, against the Importance of *Gibraltar*, or any Reasons that I hear urged for its *Restitution*; which, by reflecting on past Occurrences, do not so much raise my Astonishment, as they provoke my Indignation.

But as I have, in my last Paper, given the Reader a short and plain Sketch of the Advantages, which we receive from this Place; so it cannot be improper to examine the Objections against it; which we shall find to be just the same, that were formerly made Use of against our Possession of *Dunkirk* and *Tangier*.

In the first Place, it is said, by some ignorant and unthinking Persons, that the Possession of this Place puts the Nation, every Year, to a greater *Expence* than it is worth. In Answer to This, it is sufficient to observe that the whole Charge of maintaining it, in Times of *Peace*, does not amount to much above *fifty Thousand Pounds* a Year; which is no great Article in *seven or eight Millions*, that are usually raised for the *current Expences* of the Government, and the *Interest of the Debts*; and might easily be saved by cutting off only *nine or ten useless Pensions*; or some other *unnecessary Burthens*.

As to its *Expence* in Time of *War*, I think I have said enough in my former Paper to prove, from the Importance of it, that let it be what it will, it cannot be more than it is really worth; and if so, how ridiculous and unreasonable would any Parsimony be, in this Case? Have we not, for thirty or forty Years past, made War at the Expence of *Hundreds of Millions*, and lost *half a Million* of Men, to obtain Kingdoms, Principalities and Dominions for *other Princes*; and shall we now think much of a necessary Expence for maintaining and defending our *own just Right and Property* against Those, for whose Sake

we have lavished away such immense Sums in a voluntary Manner?

An ingenious Writer on this Subject makes the following Observation, concerning the Charge of maintaining *Gibraltar*, and such Objections against it.

— “ Strange and surprizing Instance of our *new Frugality and good Husbandry!* that we, who for “ thirty Years together, have rioted in Millions; “ and, ’till Heaven blessed us with the *present Ministry*, never minded what we gave; nor to whom; “ we, who drained the Exchequer, and mortgaged “ the Nation, should now, from a Principle of “ *Saving*, sacrifice the sole Fruit of all our Expences, “ to prevent a Charge, which is but equal to That “ of a few *useless Pensions!* Thank Heaven, from “ lavishing Millions, we are grown thrifty in *Pounds, “ Shillings and Pence.* ”

However, this Evil might, long ago, have been remedied, and may still be remedied, by the Probity and good Management of the *present Ministers*; for it is generally believed that if the Place in Dispute had been declared a *free Port*, like *Leghorn*, on our first Possession of it, being full as commodious as that for Trade; and if a *civil Government* had been established there, instead of a *military One*; it would long since have maintained itself by a moderate Duty on all Goods imported and exported; and would thereby have deprived the neighbouring Ports of *Spain* of great Part of their Trade; by which Means there would have been no Complaint of its present Charge; but, on the contrary, the Profits made by its Governors, added to the other Advantages of a *free Port*, would, in all Probability, have been more than sufficient to have eased the Government at home of that Burthen.

But if, for want of such a Regulation, these and the like Arguments shall be esteemed valid, and it should be thought adviseable to give up this *important*

portant Place, in order to avoid *Expence*; the next Demand, perhaps, which the *Spaniard* will make on us, will be to surrender our Colonies in the *West Indies*; then *Plymouth*, *Portsmouth*, and so on; with which it would be equally reasonable to comply, because we should be at a great *Expence* to defend them against their Attempts; and thus we may continue giving one Thing after another, till we become the Scorn and Contempt of the whole World.

It is said farther, that even supposing the *Spaniards* should take this Place, or it should be delivered up to them, we might still expect to have the Advantage of the Port and Harbour upon all Occasions. This is just as reasonable, as it would be for a Man to part with his Coat off his Back, or his Sword from his Side, in order to borrow them, or beg the Use of them, when he stands in need; and, in all Probability, will meet with a Denial.

Another Objection is, that the *Spaniards* will never be easy whilst *Gibraltar* is in our Hands; and therefore it is necessary to part with it, in order to procure a Peace, and settle the Tranquility of *Europe*. I have before observed (and indeed the whole Kingdom has observed it in their *Addresses*) that this Place has been yielded to us by solemn Treaties, as well as acquired in lawful War; and that the King of *Spain*, by acceding to the *Quadruple Alliance*, renounced all Claim to it, whether by *Promise* or otherwise, which was *previous* to that Treaty. But supposing it true, that the King of *Spain* will not be contented without it; must *Peace*, as well as *War*, be always negotiated at *our Expence*, and must *our Interest* always be sacrificed to the Tranquility of *Europe*? It is well known that, in the Reign of King *Charles II.* the *Spaniards* demanded the Restitution of *Jamaica* with as much Importunity as they now demand That of *Gibraltar*; yet by obstinate Refusals (even in that Reign, which was none  
of

of the best) and long Possession, we seem to have silenced them on that Head; as I doubt not we might soon do on the other, by the Exercise of a little publick Virtue and Constancy to our Country.

The same ingenious Author, before cited, has a very just Remark on this Occasion.

\* “Has any *English Ministry*, says he, ever presumed to propose to the King, to deliver up the “*Dutchies of Bremen and Verden*, in order to “procure a Peace in the North; to settle the so “much desired Balance of Power there; and to “prevent the Charge to *England* of sending out “annual Fleets at a very great Expence? And yet, “it is said, his Majesty, before the last Treaty with “*Sweden*, pretended no Title to those Countries, “but a Mortgage from a Prince, who had no other “himself but Conquest. And dares any one propose to a *British King* the delivering, to a baffled “and subdued Enemy, the most important Place in “the World to the Trade and naval Empire of “*England*; the Key of the *Mediterranean*; the “Terror of our Enemies; and the best Pledge of “our *new Friendships*; and This too, after we have “an undoubted Title to it; to which *those Nations* “are Guarantees, who have the *greatest Interest* to “wrest it out of our Hands?

Indeed; some Men have been so weak as to make This an Argument for its Restitution. We must, say they, consent to deliver it up, because even our *Friends and Allies* join with our *Enemies* in this Demand. “I confess, says the same Author, there “are many *Reasons* why *They* should desire it; “(particularly the *French*) but they are *unanswerable* “*Reasons* too, why *we* should hear such a Proposition with Horror.

I must beg Leave to quote one more Passage from this Writer.——“God has now sent us a *Ministry*, “who will mend all those Faults, which *They* were the

“ the first to *condemn*. The Interest of the Publick is  
 “ their Interest. They have no *secret Purposes* to  
 “ serve by *dark and shameful Treaties*.—In fine, they  
 “ have no *desperate Game* to play, to defend them  
 “ from the Effects of *desperate Measures*; nor have  
 “ they, like the others, been trepann’d and out-wit-  
 “ ted by *France*; nor have any ungenerous Advantages  
 “ been taken of their *Credulity*, when they had en-  
 “ gaged Themselves and their Country *beyond Re-  
 “ treat*.

Upon the whole, we may rest assured, that this  
*important Fortrefs* (the Strength and Glory of *Great  
 Britain*) will never be given up either by a *publick*  
 or *private Treaty*, upon any Consideration whatsoe-  
 ver; but we may conclude with the Gentlemen of  
*Hertfordshire*, that, “ whatever the *Enemies to our*  
 “ *Peace* may conceive from the intriguing Schemes  
 “ of their *selfish, enterprizing Politicians*, we doubt  
 “ not but that good Providence, which so signally  
 “ protects his Majesty and these Kingdoms, will *abate*  
 “ *their Pride and confound their Devices*. D

Friday, April 7.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,

THOUGH I frequently employ my Thoughts for  
 the Service of my Country, yet I know no  
 Way of communicating my *Projects* to the World,  
 unless you will be pleased to take them into your  
 Protection, and recommend them to the Publick.

The common Subject of all Conversation, and the  
 beaten Topick of most Pamphlets, at present, is that  
 abominable *Corruption*, which is said to prevail in al-  
 most all *Assemblies*. Whether This be really true, or  
 whether it is only Matter of popular Clamour, I can-  
 not take upon me to determine; but let it be which  
 it

it will, I think I have found out a *certain* and *infallible Remedy* for it. I cannot indeed say that it will immediately remove the *Evil*; but I am confident that it will destroy all the *bad Effects* that may proceed from it.

What I would propose, Sir, is, that every Person, who shall be hereafter known to *vote*, on any Occasion, for a *Bribe*, *Gratuity*, or *Pension*, or shall be under any other *pecuniary Influence*, should be distinguished, as all other Animals are, that are *vendible*, by some outward and visible Token; and as you may know an *Horse*, that is to be *sold*, by a Piece of *colour'd Riband* on the Bridle; or as the *Courtezans*, in some Countries abroad, are obliged to wear an Habit different from modest Women; so I would have all *corrupt Persons*, who prostitute their Voices for Hire, be obliged, to wear a *Knot of Ribands* under their left Ear; that all People might know them, as they walk along the Street. This *Ear-mark*, for aught I know, may be the only Way to make Mankind ashamed of *Corruption*, and will certainly have this good Effect at least, that it will soon destroy all those foolish *Party* Notions of *Whig* and *Tory*, which have so long made Distinctions amongst us, and kept honest Men, on both Sides, from discovering that they meant, in Truth, the *same Thing*, however they might differ in their *party Denominations*. — Happy will it be for this Kingdom, when there shall be no other Distinction prevailing amongst us, but That of the *KNOTTISTS* and *ANTI-KNOTTISTS*!

Before I resolv'd to send you this *Proposal*, I communicated it to a Friend of mine, who is a *dry Joker*, and a great Lover of a *Pun*. He told me that he knew, in this Kingdom, a Set of as *knotty-headed* Fellows as any, in Christendom; but I, who am a grave Man my self, reprov'd him for such a ludicrous Conceit; and told him that he ought not to turn serious Things into Ridicule.

I leave